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Fantan was obviously distressed by the situation but insisted on working with me each day, saying there was nothing he could do at home. When finally wailing was heard from the direction of his house, he knew the child had died. He went home immediately, but it was not considered good form for him to enter the house crowded with wailing women. At last a neighbor went in, took the dead child from its mother's arms, and hurried off alone to bury it in a near-by field. At this point Fantan put his head down on his knees and broke out into hard dry sobs, which he tried to suppress. Weeping is considered unmanly by the culture and therefore he had less outlet than his wife, of whom wailing was expected. Characteristically enough, however, Fantan was able to transform his grief into anger almost immediately, for at that moment a friend arrived to report that his brother-in-law had just killed one of his penned pigs in order to force him to give a death feast, an expense quite unwarranted for so young a child. Fantan said as he started toward his pigpen, "I have had enough expenses. Why should my brother-in-law kill my pig, since he didn't even come to be with his sister when her child died?"

DESCENT FROM THE HOUSE

Four to six days after the birth the first descent of the mother and child into the outside world is marked by a trivial ceremony in which a few neighboring kinswomen may assist. The maternal grandmother, or some surrogate, plants sweet potatoes and piles stones near the house verandah. The plants and stones may be represented by weeds and pebbles. By this act she releases both the mother and the father from the restrictions on vigorous labor. A few other precautionary measures may be taken, all within the range of sympathetic magic. The mother then leaves the house and is bathed for the first time since giving birth. Tubsful of water are poured over her back, arms, and legs. That afternoon the father gives a small feast to repay the wife's kin for their contributions and services. For a few more days the mother is inclined to stay near the house and perform only the easier household tasks.

The descent from the house marks the beginning of a wider diet for the child. At this time premasticated roasted bananas and vegetable gruels are added to breast feeding. The gruel is poured into the mouth from a coconut-shell spoon. The premasticated bananas are given the infant either with the hand or directly from the adult's mouth.

At this time, too, the infant's contacts expand. He begins to be a center of interest and is passed from hand to hand. Everyone seems entranced by small babies and many people will ask to hold and fondle

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moke. With that in hand he could begin to accumulate a new bride-price, by lending it at interest to Mallomi. Thereby he would be one step nearer to buying the girl on whom his heart meanwhile had become set. These financial transactions must have been highly frustrating to Atumun and the girl whom he wished to marry. They also gave rise to, or were the means of expressing, hostility between a father and son, and they laid the rejected girl open to a good deal of sly teasing from young men about her desirability and the reason for her marriage to an older man.

Sonioka's experiences in trying to break into financial life were perhaps even more frustrating and discouraging than those of Atumun. When he was about fourteen or fifteen, he had spent a season working hard in his and his parents' gardens. After a good maize harvest had been tied into bundles and stored in the loft, his parents, partly to reward him and partly to start him on his financial career, gave him a piglet. Sonioka devoted himself to its care. He kept it penned and gathered food to fatten it rapidly. When it was worth a five-dollar moke, instead of allowing Sonioka to contribute it to a feast for a return payment in moke, his father confiscated it for one of his own death feasts, saying it was Sonioka's duty to contribute to their family ceremonies.

Sonioka was furious but helpless. He swore he would never again raise pigs, a vow that he kept stubbornly for years. Meanwhile his father died, but there was an older brother who had to buy a wife first. When I knew Sonioka he was twenty-six, still unmarried, and as sensitive on that score as all boys in Arimoborg. For a young man of his age to be unmarried is considered even more of a social disability than for a debutante who has been out ten years. Luckily Sonioka was a good houseboy and the salary he received from me permitted him to buy a moke from a coastal man who was pressed for tax money and to acquire a couple of pigs. The special inducement for launching once more on a financial career was a girl from Kariera with whom he had fallen in love. He contributed his pigs as dowry payments on some female kin and expected the higher bride-price in return. However, he lent his moke at interest to Mallomi, the same fiancé who figured in the preceding anecdote and was notoriously skilled in financial chicanery.

To add to Sonioka's difficulties his future brothers-in-law were planning a huge death feast for their father. They counted on their only sister's bride-price as one of the chief sources of income for the event. Night after night when Sonioka went to see the girl, her kin berated him for his slowness in paying his bride-price and threatened to sell their sister to another man. They even demanded that he pay the whole

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407 kafuk at one time, since his older brother had recently indulged in that
584 bit of ostentatious financing. As Senlaka said, "They made me ashamed. It is not as though I were not an orphan. Now it has been three weeks since I have been to their house." In the meantime Senlaka had tried to
[431] placate his future affinal kin by furnishing at different times ten piglets as free gifts (*pungbo*).

426 During these negotiations Senlaka was trying his best to force Mali-
634 seni to make the promised repayment on the moko he had lent him and Maliseni was putting him off with promises. Maliseni said that he had to wait until a man in a distant village gave a death feast, at which time he would receive payment on an outstanding obligation. Feasts are always held much later than the promised date, so only after much delay did Senlaka finally think he was to get the promised moko. When Maliseni returned, however, he "spoke nicely" to Senlaka, saying that unfortunately another creditor had insisted upon being paid but that if Senlaka could give him an additional moko, he, Maliseni, could repay both of them with an even higher valued moko that he expected to receive soon. Senlaka was furious. In telling me the whole story he said, "Here older men just try to cheat the young ones. It is a lot of trouble to get married here. Countries where there are no gongs and mokos and where you don't have to buy a wife are better."

In the interim another man heard of Senlaka's difficulties and said that if Senlaka would litigate for the return of his original moko—which would mean abandoning the hope of interest—a better deal could be arranged. When Senlaka broached the matter to Maliseni, the latter tried to dissuade Senlaka on the plea that such a procedure would shame him. Senlaka, however, stood firm and finally Maliseni returned a moko worth the original loan. After four months Senlaka was ready to start all over again with the help of another and, hopefully, more trustworthy older man.

584 In discussing the relationships involved, Senlaka admitted that the girl's two older brothers were inclined to press him less hard than her youngest brother and her mother. When I questioned him about the girl's attitude, his first answer was the traditional one, namely, that she stayed out of the family bickerings. Finally he admitted that she had told her brothers that if she could not marry Senlaka she would ask the kapitan for a tax bill. This was a way of saying that she would ask to have masculine status, that she would marry no one, and that her brothers would receive no bride-price on her at all. In view of the fact that theoretically, and often actually, a woman caught in such conflicts is expected to support the financial interests of her kinsmen as opposed

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nition of women's vigor and the covert respect in which they are held is the rareness of rape. I was able to collect only three cases, known to about five informants, and only one of these dealt with a local woman. This may indicate, however, no more than that women are not apt to refuse chance adventures. A further possible hint of the real status of women is that in warfare their heads are as valuable as those of men. Anecdotes of the last head-hunting wars revealed that out of ten persons dead or injured, four were women. However, since even half-grown children can be counted in the system of revenge, we must conclude that all adults or near adults are of equal value in this respect.

Still another index of the real, even though disavowed, equality between women and men was contained in a bit of casual chaffing. Some men were tugging at heavy firewood and it hurt their hands. One of them said jokingly, "Our hands are not used to it. A woman should do this." I answered in the same vein, "That is because you don't work as they do." The answer was, "Yes, our hands are soft, so when we hit a woman it doesn't hurt. But their hands are calloused, so when they hit us it hurts a lot." A woman who was sitting near by joined in with the comment, "That is a lie. Men's hands are heavy too."

However, the questions of preference in the sex of children, of rape, and of physical vigor are merely symptoms. Women are in a position to refuse men sexual gratification and food. They can either facilitate or impede a man's financial career. An aggressive woman is usually able to humiliate a man. The case of Fuimai and Maleta, her brother-in-law, is instructive in this connection precisely because their quarrel was one of the rare ones that did not center upon finance, and the sexual element, if it existed, was not avowed. Fuimai's husband could not get along with her. He was seldom at home and she was looked at askance for her freedom with other men. It was whispered throughout the village that among others she had had intercourse with her brother-in-law, Maleta. One morning Maleta took a papaya from Fuimai's tree and sent a child with it to my house to sell it. Fuimai followed the child and took the money for the fruit. Maleta was furious, and in the quarrel that ensued he chopped down the three papaya trees near Fuimai's house. Everyone scrambled to strip the fallen trees, while Fuimai and Maleta continued their quarrel. Maleta sat sullenly on the ground below the verandah while Fuimai hurled a staccato of invective at him: "You should be ashamed! Were they your papaya trees? Is this basket I am weaving your basket, perhaps? Who always feeds you? You come here only to eat. You eat my fingers. I plant the fields of rice and corn. Whose fields are they? Are my fingers tasty? You should be ashamed." Here defi-

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607 nitely a woman was able to assert herself in terms of her real power as a
562 provider quite apart from financial status or kinship authority.

The power of women as opposed to that of men is less rigidified by
593 status requirements. It may leave a weak-willed woman in conflict. A
562 determined woman, however, has greater liberty in placing her allegiance where she will. An anecdote in the autobiography of Kolangkalieta gives such a case (page 494). Her husband was repudiated by his brother. She was free either to repudiate him also or to offer him the support of her own village and kinsmen. She chose the latter course. The husband could not but have felt the degree to which he was dependent
562 on his wife. Women's in-group loyalties and status obligations are less fixed than those of men. To a self-assured person this might give freedom. To an insecure person this might heighten a sense of bewilderment. Since the basic childhood training of Atimelang girls inculcates very little more in the way of internal resources than it does for boys, we should not expect women to be notably more constructive than men, even in the face of greater freedom of choice in certain areas. Test data substantiate this reasoning.

CONCLUSIONS

882 A number of points may be drawn together by way of summary for
562 this chapter. Boys have a longer and more difficult sociologic adoles-
155 cence than girls because they must enter the financial system. Their experiences and knowledge in that field may well be such as to reinforce the impression of uncertainty and inconsistency secured in connection with disciplines in childhood. Their search in marriage is for
[581] sexual gratification, for a provider, and for status both in wealth and in children. They seek in their wives a mother-provider, a role that women have been ill equipped to fulfill. Girls have had a more purposive training in childhood for adult roles although the administration of disciplines has been as inconsistent for them as it has been for boys. Their sociologic adolescence is brief, and they may undertake the sexual aspects of marriage unwillingly. In addition, marriage means for women far
562 greater economic responsibilities in a social system that does not grant them status recognition equal to that of men, while at the same time it places on them greater and more monotonous burdens of labor. For women complete adult status through childbearing is not rewarded socially; it is to an extent penalized in that it adds to labor and responsibilities. The important role of women is covertly recognized but not overtly. There is little in the way of cultural rewards (except posthumous remembrance in the form of death feasts) to make them want to